2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

knowledge by saying: 'After all, the connexion is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood.' In effect they are giving up the ideal of clan exogamy in these cases while retaining the more meaningful ideal of village and lineage exogamy. The clans have now become so large that Gaudas can no longer look upon them as corporate groups. This adjustment in thinking is necessary because the old names for the clans have been forgotten and because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field—often embracing over three hundred people—coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages could otherwise make the ideal of clan exogamy totally unrealizable.

There is another manipulation to surmount this problem. Ten non-exogamous Gauda villages are in a sense of 'neutral' clan affiliation: that is, they may arrange marriages in their own village or with any Gauda clan without generally being accused of marrying within a prohibited degree. They thus form a kind of safety valve: the precedent of a marriage with one of these villages can be used to validate any other village's membership of a particular clan. This is possible because the six clans are not generally known by names now (though at least two of them still were in the last century): they are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning 'agnates' and 'affines' (or 'our clan' and 'another clan'). These special villages also act as a kind of reservoir of youths and girls eligible to *any* Gauda village needing spouses.

Though the vast majority of Gauda marriages are within this complicated system of clans and neutral villages, a number of permissible marriages have also been arranged with other phratries. Ha:ruvas marry into Gauda families, though now with decreasing frequency; the meat-eating Adikiris, a small clan, have no marriages outside the Gauda phratry to which they therefore belong in sense if not name.[16] A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls with Gauda boys, usually those with college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among urbanizing Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their 'freer' interaction with men. When a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to a clan other than her groom's.

Gaudas, like Badaga Christians, are usually meat-eaters. They are willing to eat in the houses of any other phratry but the Toreas and the Christians. Adikiris, Kaṇakkas and Wodeas offer Gaudas

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Lovers and Prostitutes

582 3.6. Badaga girls used to be married shortly after puberty and youths in their late adolescence. Various social pressures, most (178) importantly the new educational requirements, have increased these (626) ages until today a girl gets married at about 16 and a young man in his early 20s. Since births are not registered it is possible for parents to claim their daughter is older than she really is at marriage: recent legislation about age at marriage (18 for girls, 21 for men) might sometimes prompt them to do so.

836 One effect of this raising of the appropriate age for marriage has been an increase in premarital sex activity among male youths. The corresponding phenomenon does not seem to have occurred among [562] the girls, however; quite the opposite, in fact. I was told that a "double standard" has recently appeared, in that if an unmarried man is known to be having an affair he is not thought badly of, whereas if a young woman does so she is mocked by other villagers and considered very immoral. This development has come about 836 since mid-century because of changing attitudes towards pregnancy. 843 In earlier days an unmarried girl would have affairs without any great fear of pregnancy, because she knew that if she did become (623) pregnant she could go before the village council, name the father, (692) and he would be forced to marry the girl concerned. She only had to assert that a man was the father and he would have to marry and support her — even if he already had a wife. Should a man refuse [684] to accept the council's decision on the matter he could be outcasted and ordered out of the village, his property divided among his brothers, and a share of it given to support the pregnant girl. This, rather than an abortion, was the normal procedure. Today an unmarried 178 woman is very circumspect even if she has reached the age of 30. 836 She knows that a ruined reputation can spoil her chances of an advantageous marriage, and the village council has little power to 581 force a wayward man into marrying or supporting her today.

836 3.7. As with much else in Indian social organization, there is a hier- 582 archy in the frequency and acceptability of extra-marital sexual partners, as outlined below.

(*a*) Most frequently chosen is a girl related as affine to a boy; they are a couple who might later marry without offence. Usually this means the girl would have to be of the same phratry but a different clan, and live in a different village from the boy's. If the parents

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

836 582

discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

836 582 584

It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

622 837 836 (581)

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

835

(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

(606) (607)

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be. What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

615 582 554 837

(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

month, or else have a difficult delivery during the ninth month and produce a lean, unhealthy baby. 843

If the woman's eyes turn red, she gets diarrhoea, feels uneasy, and her lips are itchy, these signs indicate that she indeed has too much "heat" in the body, and that she is not having food regularly or in enough quantity. If there is a lot of "heat" she will have heartburn before or after meals, and will cough; but the excess "heat" can only be noticed by any of these signs, not by feeling the actual temperature of the body.

The "heat" can be reduced by feeding the patient buttermilk or butter. In an extreme case she can be given a special mixture. (272) Lime juice is put in a pot, and buffalo milk is milked directly from the animal onto the juice, and then drunk immediately. (Cow's milk can be used instead, but is not so effective.) This drink is given to her every morning for two or three weeks, before she takes any food.

In the fourth, sixth and seventh months the woman can be carefree. In even numbered months, the fourth, sixth and eighth, she may cross the hamlet boundary and visit her father's house, provided she does not stay there overnight. In odd-numbered months, the fifth, seventh and ninth, she can stay there overnight.

4.4. At an odd-numbered month, generally the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy only, she and her husband go through a ceremony that confirms their marriage. This occurs on a day after the new moon and before the full moon; it must be an auspicious day—a Monday, Friday, Wednesday or Sunday, in that order of preference. Although no mention is made of the pregnancy, everyone is aware that it has led to a stable marriage and the woman is no longer a mere servant of the man: "For the woman without children there is no house; for the man without an ox there is no place" (Verghese 1963: 422). Hence the ceremony: 843 585 851 (777) (581) (539)

> . . . it seals the marriage contract, and, after its performance, divorce can only be obtained through the decree of the panchāyat (tribal council). Moreover, if it has not been performed, a man cannot claim the paternity of the child . . . The husband and wife are seated in the midst of those assembled . . . and the former asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread round his wife's neck, and, having received permission, proceeds to do so . . . On the day of the ceremony, the man

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter" in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
614 purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs perhaps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
(621) hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the central importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organization, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
128 each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

582 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a procedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

262 Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
562 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
614 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal- (783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

614 615 are each exogamous, but may arrange marriages with members of either sib without being accused of marriage within a prohibited degree, simply because they are too small and isolated for many other hamlets to know anything about them. They thus constitute a kind of "structural safety-valve", for the precedent of a marriage with one of these hamlets can be used to validate an argument about any other hamlet's membership of either sib. This is possible because both Gauda sibs are unnamed, and are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning "brothers" (i.e. "our sib") and "in-laws" (i.e. "their sib"). These various peripheral hamlets also act as a kind of reservoir of boys and girls eligible for marriage with any hamlet in need of spouses.

582 615 While it is true that the vast majority of Gauda marriages are with members of the opposite sib, there have also been a number of permissible marriages arranged with members of other phratries. Both Haruvas and Kaggusis marry into either Gauda sib. A few Bedas may also have married into either Gauda sib. In three hamlets non-vegetarian Adikaris have intermarried with Gaudas, and are now treated as Gaudas. A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls to Gauda boys, normally those with a college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their "freer" interaction with men. Where a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to the opposite sib from her groom's.

574 615 Gaudas are willing to eat in the houses of any other Badaga phratry, except for Toreyas and Badaga Christians. Adikaris, Kapakkas and Wodeyas only offer Gaudas food in the outer room; whereas Haruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. In each of these cases the Gaudas may be meat-eaters, but

565 family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century
556 situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya
(615) will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have
582 seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from
614 other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the divi-
615 sion between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Gauda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about
587 the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a
565 man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the
(764) gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a <u>widow</u> of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his <u>brother</u> does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dead
(584) woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his
(581) wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

for the real widower to marry a girl capable of adding a number of sons to the family. Thus, provided the previous wife's funeral has been handled in this manner, it is considered ethical for the widower to marry a putative virgin from another family of the gentry.

Generally all of the headmen and headmen's regular assistants belong to the gentry; and during the last century the British officials normally appointed their managars and karnams (i.e. headmen and accountants) from among the gentry too (Grigg 1880: 366).

In keeping with the image of his greater honor, wisdom and prestige, a member of the gentry receives rather different treatment than an ordinary man at the hands of the Badaga judicial council. Traditional Badaga law holds the individual responsible for his acts, and treats him as the offender if he is found guilty of some crime. Among the gentry, on the other hand, the head of the family is responsible for the acts of all members of his family even though he may know nothing about them. This was vividly illustrated by a case in 1963, which I will quote from my field-notes.

"Belli is the traditional headman of a Badaga hamlet and, as he is the eldest of several brothers, he is also head of his family, which is considered a gentry family. One day he met his friend Lingan, a prominent elder from the neighboring hamlet. They were on a footpath in the fields belonging to Lingan's people. Without any prior explanation or greeting, Lingan abused Belli roundly for his despicable behavior. Belli was taken aback, and questioned him about the meaning of this outburst. He thus learned that one of his brothers had just kicked a Tamilian boy employed by the neighboring hamlet to look after their cattle. Normally Lingan would not have concerned himself with a minor hurt done to a non-Badaga in his hamlet; but in this case, because the boy was employed by the hamlet

554 871 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea 581 583 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of (178) (177) dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises (871) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

582 We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. 584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
615 of the Justice Party.
665 Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another fac-
tional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas
177 at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in
582 this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese
(518) Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land
many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the
practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat
(581) Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed
that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise
their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly
because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of
(771) Virašaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself
taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy
are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the
578 idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy
798 countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries
(582) may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the
washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure
means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was
marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a
thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one
village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined;
and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin marriage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

B: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO

601 Another possible situation does give some weight to female generation-level. Here (Diagram 6) 'A' has married 'B' but then produced no children, so 'B' arranges for a second wife, and marries 'C', his first wife's niece. A son 'Y' is then born to 'C', but subsequently to this 'A' also produces a son 'X'. In this situation 'Y' must always call 'X' "elder brother" although in point of fact 'X' is younger than 'Y'.

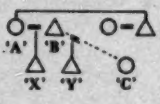

Diagram 6

Yet another instance of how relationship is determined by one's husband's generation-level is found in the following case (Diagram 7). 'B's' wife died and so he married 'C', who is classified as a "daughter" to his son-in-law 'D'. She therefore calls 'D' "father" and he calls her "daughter". 'C' also calls 'A' "mother", since she is seen by her as a "father's" wife, but at the same time 'A' calls 'C' "mother" too, because 'C' is also a father's wife for 'A'.

Diagram 7

7. Marriage Patterns

582 615 While there is a hierarchy among the various phratries that make up Badaga society, and while there are definite marriage rules linking particular clans (i.e., clan P tends to find most or all of its spouses in clan Q of the same phratry, and *vice versa*), this hierarchy and set of marriage preferences is not supported by a belief concerning purity and pollution of the individual. In fact, one can argue that hypergamy and hypogamy are equally acceptable to the Badagas—something that is perhaps unique for any non-tribal Indian community. Thus a girl or youth of the vegetarian Ha:ruva clan may marry a person of a non-vegetarian Gauda clan without any adverse comment; nothing worse in fact than some inconveniences at mealtimes. Instead 581 of purity/pollution considerations, it is shame or prestige that becomes important during marriage arrangements. Thus everybody wants to marry a headman's child but nobody wants to marry an orphan. A large joint family is considered a strong and respectable social unit—even if a new bride sometimes feels less than welcome in it—and people do seek marriage connections with it for their daughters.